113, 601

Kazak RQ2

/For data on kinship terminology among the Kazakh-Kirgiz, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 503-522./

113, 601 Kazak RQ2

[For discussion of Kazak kinship terminology in the context of the Altaic steppe pastoralist systems generally, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 600-611.]

113, 604, 601, 428, 171 Kazak RQ2

[For discussion of the avunculate and inheritance of part of the avuncular estate among the Kazakh, and relation between these and similar complexes among the Mongol peoples, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 591-600.]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

593 562 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 855 [601] When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qɪz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the 852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own [582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 252–53.

587

the distribution of the yakhsy. (1)

1. On the yakhsy, cf. below.

When the wife's father demands that his son-in-law marry the baldyz /the wife's sister/, the son-in-law can refuse, but for such a refusal it is customary to compensate the father-in-law with a horse or a khalat /coat/, excepting only the case when the refusal is based on delinquency or some sort of inadequacy of the bride.

582 [565]

It is impossible to marry the wet nurse (eneke) or her sister (emekdas), but it is possible to marry her close relatives.

The white bone marries among its own group, and they take brides from the black bone, but they do not marry their women to the black bone.

According to customary law, a teacher should not marry his student, although the Shariat does not prohibit it (Perovsk uyezd). According to Torgai, the Shariat permits the marriage of a teacher (ustad) with his student but not between a woman teacher and her student. The customary law permits both. Among the Kirgiz it is also permissable.

• • • •

601

The kinship terms in Kazakh:
Father - ake (ata in Sart).
Mother - sheshe. She is also called apa (ana, ena in Sart).
Step-father - ugei ake.
Step-mother - ugei sheshe.
Son - ul.
Daughter - kyz.
/31/ Step-son - ugei ul, ugei bala.
Step-daughter - ugei kyz, ugei bala.
Elder brother - aga (ake in Sart).
Younger brother - ini (uke in Sart).
Elder sister - apa.
Younger sister of a man - kyryndas (singli in Sart).
Younger sister of a woman - singli.
Grandfather, father's father - baba.
Grandmother, father's mother - ulu ene, kar'ya sheshe, adzhe.
Grandfather, mother's father - nagashi, nagashi ata.
Grandmother, mother's mother - nagashi sheshe.

601 Mother's elder brother - nagashi, nagashi ata (taga in Sart and in Kirgiz).
Mother's younger brother - nagashi, nagashi aga (taga in Sart and in Kirgiz).
Aunt, father's sister - apa (amma in Sart).
Aunt, mother's sister - nagashi yenge (khala in Sart).
Father's elder brother - ata, nemere ata (amake in Sart).
Father's younger brother - aga, nemere aga (amake in Sart).
Nephew, son of elder and younger brother - nemere (dzhien in Sart).
Nephew, son of elder and younger sister - dzien.
Nephew, grandson of brother - shubere.
Grandson, son's son - nemere.
Grandson, daughter's son - dzhien.
Cousin, father's brother's son - nemere.
Cousin, father's sister's son - dzhien.
Cousin, mother's younger or elder sister's son - bule (khalavacha in Sart).
Cousin, mother's elder or younger brother's son - nagashi.
Second cousin - shubere.
/32/ Wife's elder or younger brother's son, in relation to her husband's son - dzhien.
Husband - er, bai.
Wife, - khatyn. Among the Kirgiz ayash.
First wife. - biabishe.
Other wives - takal, kshi khatyn.
Spouse's father /svat/ - kuda.
Spouse's brother - kuda byla.
Spouse's sister - kudacha.
Spouse's mother - kudagai.
Groom - kuyau.
Bride - kalyndyk (koruktyk among the Kirgiz).
Sister-in-law, wife of the elder brother - yenge.
Sister-in-law, wife of younger brother - kelin, kelinchek.
Husband's older brother - kainaga.
Husband's younger brother - kain.
Husband's older sister - kain
Husband's younger sister - bikesh.
Husband of wife's older sister - yezde.
Wife's younger sister's husband - badzha.
Wife's older sister - kain bike.
Wife's younger sister - baldyz.

601

Husband's older and younger brother's wife - abysin.
Husband's father - ata, kainata.
Husband's mother - ana, kainana.
Wife's father - ata, kainata.
Wife's father's father - ulu ata.
Wife's mother - ene, kain ene.
Wife's father's mother - ulu ene.
Wife's father's older brother - ulkun ata.
/33/ Wife's father's older brother's wife - ene.
Wife's father's older or younger brother's son - kain.
Wife's father's older or younger brother's daughter - yenge.
Wife's father's younger brother - kainaga.
Wife's father's younger brother's wife - yenge.
Wife's father's elder relative - kainaga, ulkun ui.
Wife's father's younger relative - kain, otau.

• • • •

593

The disobedience of children is punished by the domestic corrective measures of the parents. A son is punished by his father, a daughter by her mother, for the father rears the son, and the mother the daughter. The proverb "the son goes before the father, like a slave before a master" and others entered in Makovetskii, p. 28, Pt. 1, were found by E. A. Aleksandrov in the Kazalinsk uyezd.

593
683

During the reign of the patriarchal clan principle, litigation between children and parents could not even be mentioned. Bodily punishment and humiliation before the people is customary for blows and offenses against the parents by the children.

For an offense against the father (a false denunciation, etc.) the son who has been given his allotment pays from one horse to one camel, and among the Kirgiz, an atton, i. e., a horse and a long coat. He is obliged to slaughter the animal and beg forgiveness on his knees. They admonish him, saying: "Who is greater: you or the people?" (yurt kup pe, sen kup pe.). And finally the elders and aksakals beat him without counting the strokes until he repents. In a similar situation a daughter who has received her allotment is not subjected to bodily punishment. The penalty for her is paid by her husband. Among the Kirgiz, her mother beats her.

593
685

For stealing from parents, children who have received their allotments are not accountable at all up to three times, for it is considered only a secret taking away (yasyryb algan). Only the

Not so the Kazakhs. Among the Kazakhs and related societies, the role of maternal affection is simply not to be found, in the ethnographies or in the native literature. There are autobiographies of Kazakhs, among them that of the novelist Sabit Mukanov, and biographies of Kazakhs by Kazakhs. Nowhere does the theme of a mother's love for her son, nor of the son's affection for his mother, appear. These autobiographies and novels are products of the Soviet era, but there is nothing in the Soviet pattern which rules out the theme of mother love. Similarly, in collections of poems and songs of both the Soviet and the prerevolutionary eras, the idea of mother love rarely appears. These poems and songs celebrate the deeds of past heroes, or the love of a youth for a girl; girl's songs praise the bravery and handsomeness of the lover. The mother is simply missing. If by chance she should appear, it is only as one of a series of family members.

In the Kazakh language, the term of endearment for the mother is not centered on the mother alone; it designates at the same time mother, elder sister, paternal aunt. This could be taken as a symbol of the great force of mother love, so great that it has become generalized to all other closely related elder females. But this possibility must be ruled out in view of the almost complete silence which the Kazakhs maintain regarding the mother and the mother theme.

The novelist Mukhtar Auezov has written two novels about the 19th century Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbaev. The general theme concerns the formation of the character of this 19th century Kazakh intellectual who turned to Russia for guidance (Abai is the translator into Kazakh of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin). Abai's life is presented in a literary pattern acceptable to the political line of the Soviet Union: the pattern of the daring youth who breaks with the past, overcoming the tyranny of the traditional life and storming toward the new. This theme is popular with the Soviet leadership, for it contains the notion of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union—under the aegis of the Great Russians. Abai's father is depicted as a monster of feudal oppression, and Abai is shown in stern revolt against him. Abai's mother appears briefly as part of a dim gallery of forces which are generally passive and favorably disposed toward the hero: the grandmother, the mother, a poetess of the era, Abai's beloved. The beloved is represented as lovable, the poetess as a beautiful singer, and the grandmother as a woman of wisdom—which is in general a male trait. The mother plays a brief, positive role in Abai's youth and then disappears from the novel. She herself is colorless, and the emotion is centered around the grandmother, a figure not of love but of wisdom.[1]

The absence of the mother role and mother love is true of other domains of Kazakh family life and social life generally. There is nothing that counterbalances the father-son orientation of the family and the society. Woman's status, however high it may rise, is inferior to that of the male. As a young girl, the steppe daughter is a "non-person"; she counts for little. She may be betrothed in infancy, in which case

[1]Auezov (3), 1949. See also Krader's doctoral dissertation (78), 1953, chapter 6. Winner (128) corroborates this analysis of the literary evidence.

632 because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of
611 an aul generally were related because one's most trusted
602 friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could
692 place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the bii himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

177.6 One effect of culture contact at the end of the 19th
604 century, we have seen, was the organization of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units; and despite this new mode of social organisation, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of
177. Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division
56 of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines
565 through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry until after the Russian conquest, when the young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to ally themselves in marriage, regardless of white or black estate, without difficulty.[94]

[94] Dingelstedt, 146.

602 much as possible, in the following circumstances: (a) for
685 payment of bridewealth (kalym), since the increase of descendants and the need to marry was a desirable thing; (b) for the payment of a debt (to a stranger); (c) in time of famine; (d) for a necessary journey, or in pursuit of bandits, rustlers, etc.[102]

602 The degree of mutual support and dependence may be
593 directly inferred from these sections of the criminal code: the father, the father's brothers and the father's father were effectively regarded as one social unit, from the viewpoint of the son. Property rights were in common, at least before the law. Relations between sons of brothers were only slightly more distant as measured by these practices of restitution and the recognition of felony. Mother's brothers and sister's sons were about in the same category as father's brother's sons; seizure beyond these degrees of kinship was reckoned as theft except under specified circumstances.

604 Important to note, although its fuller implications
●601 must be left for later discussion, is the significance of the avunculate: the mother's brother was under strong obligations to the sister's son, his dzion.[1/4] An identical practice is found among the Kalmuks, and even the two terms (Kalmuk [illegible]/[illegible]) are cognate terms. There is a clear and demonstrable correlation between the termi-

[102] Grodekov, 160-162; cf. Bingelstedt, 148.

1/4 [Cf. cat. 602, pp. 421-422 -- Analyst]

604
601 nological usages on the one side and inheritance practices and other kinship relations on the other. A most noteworthy feature of the dzien relation is that it was a relationship in the maternal line, and this despite the preponderantly patrilineal orientation of the entire kinship structure. But it is not unusual to find matrilateral relations highlighted in a patrilineal society, and the paradox is only a seeming one, not real. The matrilateral relations will be found operative in rules of marriage.

596 We have seen that there was some differentiation between the rich Kazakh family and the poor, especially in respect to family size. The rich family was more likely to be polygynous in composition, was more likely to attract to itself close collateral (agnatically related) kin, and kept its members together longer. The wealthy Kazakh family thus conforms more closely to a corporate entity than does the poor one; it survives the life span of its members. The poor family was more likely to be of the simple conjugal type, dissolving on the death of the father, the son forming a new conjugal family. Both the rich and the poor family conformed,
596 however, to another criterion of the corporate entity:
671 they were a single personality in the eyes of

mechanisms as the Kazakhs possessed. That is, the aksakal or bii stepped in only with great reluctance when a family was riven by an internal dispute, if he stepped in at all.

[Great Horde]

428 will of him who made the bequest. The inheritance passed to the second category if the first died without issue, then to the third if the second was not filled, and so forth.[121]

428 596 It is of importance to note that the inverse order of succession, namely, brothers before sons, was not the case. And it is difficult to see how this could possibly have been: the estate included not only real, but intangible property as well, and with its control was correlated a great amount of authority. Now if brothers quarreled, and they often did, then they would split up. If an estate descended fraternally before passing to the next succeeding generation, this would mean that the locus of authority was always on the verge of moving off. Such an unstable situation could be envisaged, but it would also necessitate certain corrective or compensatory measures in order to lessen the friction which might thus arise; still no such measures are found in Kazakh society. In general, among the Kazakhs, the Kara-Kirgis, the Kalmuks, the Buryats, and other steppe societies of Asia, the line of descent passed to the son, and failing a son it passed to the closest collateral line, whether that of the brother or that of the brother's son.

601 428 In addition to the evidence, both positive and negative, and the comparative material from other societies,

---

[121] Ibid., 11.

[Great Horde]

601 there is a clear confirmation of the order of succession in the kinship terminology. In fact, the close correlation with a particular--and relatively rare--application of the kinship terminology should become a classical case of a behavioral correlate of kinship terminology. In a manner parallel to that of the Kalmuks, brother's son and son's son bear the same term, the term in Kazakh being nemere.

604 428 The avunculate, the relations between mother's brother (nagaŷ) and sister's son (džien), likewise played a role in the transmission of real property. The latter could call on his maternal uncle for support in paying his bridewealth, for the payment of a debt, and so forth. If the maternal uncle failed to fulfill a socially recognized obligation, the džien could effect a seizure on the stock of his nagaŷ's stock up to three times, and the nagaŷ had no basis for protest. If the džien exceeded the three sanctioned seizures, only then could the nagaŷ tell him that he had forfeited the rights of a nephew.

604 428 Just as the nemere term has a definable social correlate, so does the džien concept: both are related to the mode of acquiring a wife, transmitting inherited property, establishing respect and authority.

Marriage in the Great Horde

A Kazakh proverb runs: "A Sart (agricultural Turk

[Cf. cat. 114, AHI Mongolia, pp. 431-432 -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

601 Khan Bukei was related to all the other members
625 of his clan and horde through real or assumed descent
619 from a common ancestor. But Bukei was at the same time
162 a descendant of Chingis Khan directly, and a descendant of a junior line of Abul-Haïr. His horde because of its recent formation, small size, and relative instability, retained many features of clan structure which it had until recently possessed. It was divided into two estates: the white bone and the black. As to the white bone, ak süök, we have somewhat more detailed data as to its composition than for the other hordes. It had three components in the Inner Horde, according to data gathered in 1849-1850, in addition to the direct senior descendants of the Khan himself; these were descendants of Khan Bukei in the junior line, clan leaders, and aristocrats without duties, all of whom totalled to about 200 ak süök, 85 percent falling in the last category, those without duties, i.e., junior aristocratic lines,[329] exclusive of Khan Bukei's cadet line, who formed a separate noble category.

613 Among the lineage names of this time, familiar
162 ones appear, such as the lineage of Adai, homonymous with the one visited by Karutz on the Mangyshlak peninsula about fifty years later. These lineages ranged in number of families from 120 to 5000; and counting the

[329] Ibid., 11.

* [i.e. in 1800; cf. Cat. 16, AHI Mongolia, p. 491 -- Analyst]

[Inner Horde]

614 Another principle of social structure is illus-
619 trated in Kharuzin's account of the Bukei Horde, that
601 of differential succession. The entire Bukei Horde reckoned descent from one of three brothers; the eldest line was the Alim-uli, the two junior lines were the Bai-uli and the descent line of the Seven Clans--Semirod, eponymous ancestor not given. The Alim-uli descent line was represented on the Bukei steppe by only one clan (or lineage), the Kita, who are mentioned as one of the lineages by Ivanov about twenty-five years previously. According to Radlov's account of the Little Horde, the Alchin, a major division of the Little Horde, were subdivided into the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, and it was the Bai-uli who contributed most of the members to the formation of the Inner Horde. This conforms with Kharuzin, who found only one Alim-uli clan among them. But Radlov nowhere mentions a third genealogy, and this creates a conflict, because Radlov's analysis is a systematic case of dual organization.[239] With Radlov, Kharuzin agrees that the majority of the Inner Horde was composed of members of the Bai-uli. The only expression of the superiority based on primogeniture of the Kita members of the Alim-uli descent line was their preferential treatment at feasts and marriages,

[239] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 237-241.

[Inner Horde]

614 619 601 [177.61] where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan decline generally, as part of the acculturation picture, are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss of nomadic pastoralism.[240] 1 A

613 561 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's, and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son. However, it might rest temporarily with the first or senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

565 [177. 56] The standard composition of the noble estate is: the ak sŭök descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a genealogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

---

240 Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

241 Ibid., 110.

242 Ibid., 47-52.

1 A [cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 496 ff. -- Analyst]

428 ciple of primogeniture. The custom of ultimogeniture, whereby the youngest son was the residuary legatee and likewise received the title of "prince of the hearth," also was practiced. Despite this favored treatment of the youngest son, the actual authority passed to the eldest son, ceteris paribus, i.e., if he were of good health in mind and body, etc.[247]

586 596 177.59 Divorce is reported as having been easy and frequent among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde,[248] but since this is totally unlike other reports on the Kazakhs, it is to be understood as a reflection of acculturative conditions, and not a normal situation. Nevertheless, patriarchal authority, and the extended family as a continuing unit, tended to resist acculturation: the daughter-in-law would be chosen not by the son in question, nor yet by his father necessarily, but by the patriarchal head of the entire extended family.[249] On the other hand, under the conditions of culture contact, a tendency toward neo-local marriage residence arose in the closing decades of the 19th century.[250]

[591]

601 Kinship Terminology: General Considerations

The Kazakh kinship terminology differs in many

---

247 Ibid., 108-111.

248 Ibid., 108.

249 Ibid., 110.

250 Idem.

201 respects from the terminology of other Turkic-speaking peoples, such as the Bashkir, but on the other hand, corresponds closely to the fragments we have of the Orkhon and Yenisei Turkic system, and to the Kalmuk. In addition to the general patrilineal principle at work, Kazakh terminology shares the following features with the Orkhon Turkic: in the ascending paternal line, separate terms for Fa and Fa Br (Orkhon term for Fa Yo Br is unreported); the same term for Fa Br and for Ol Br; distinctions between Fa and Fa Fa. In the descending patriline: common terms for So So and for Br So; distinction between So and So So (contrary to Bashkir, for example). It is interesting that while Orkhon Turkic has the same term for Br So and So So, and the principle of identifying the two has remained the same in Kazakh, yet the etymologies are different: Orkhon Turkic aty, Br So and So So; Kazakh nemere idem. Features relative to terms for female patrilineal kin shared by Kazakh and Orkhon Turkic are: Fa Si and Ol Si are called by the same term in both, but again the terms used are different: Orkhon Turkic, ikä; Kazakh, apa. On the other hand, terms for Da and for Yo Si are etymologically identical. For the rest, all we can determine is that both systems, Orkhon and Kazakh, have a term for spouse's Fa, combining thus Wi Fa and Hu Fa, and that

601 the terms are etymologically related: Orkhon kadyn, Kazakh kain (ata). The only other affinal terms, Da Hu and So Wi, are etymologically related in Orkhon and Kazakh. On the other hand, the Orkhon collective term, kälingän, wife's kin, is not found in Kazakh.[251]

The basic features of the Kazakh system of nomenclature, those which are invariant from horde to horde, are the following: In the parental generation, the terminology is of the bifurcate collateral type, with separate terms for Fa, Fa Br, and Mo Br; separate terms for Mo, Mo Si, and Fa Si. In ego's own generation, the cousin terminology is of the Omaha type, with separate terms for each cousin, Fa Br Ch, Fa Si Ch, Mo Br Ch, and Mo Si Ch, all distinct from sibling terms. In a manner identical with Omaha terminology, Fa Si So and Si So are terminologically equated, as are Fa Br So and Br So. On the other hand, the term for Mo Br So is that which is given to the maternal kin generally. Again, at least in the Great Horde, the term for Fa Br So is the same as that for Br So and So So; and the term for Fa Si So is likewise extended to Si So and Da So. There are separate terms for each patrilineal forebear, to the fourth ascending generation, and separate terms

---

[251] The sources for the Orkhon and Yenisei terms have been given above, footnote 24. Sources for Kazakh terms generally are: Radlov, Opyt Slovaria; Balakaev, et al; for the Great Horde: Grodekov, 30-33; for the Middle Horde, Rudenko (1930), 58-61.

for descendants for two generations. The fraternal collateral line generally bears the same terms, but down-graded a generation, as the direct descending line. That is, Br So is terminologically equated with So So. Now this feature is the converse of the reservoir system noted in Yap for the parental relation[252] and acts as a reservoir for descendants; it not only correlates with the customary form adoption, that of Br So adoption, but also correlates with the highest value of Kazakh and other steppe society, the supplying of male descendants for the continuity of the line. Every one of these features, without exception, is shared with the Kalmuk terminology, and more common traits will be discussed directly. Kazakh and Kalmuk societies possess a uniform structure, contrasting with the rest of the Mongol world and contrasting likewise with other parts of the Turkic world, such as Bashkir, Chuvash, Uzbek, Uriankhai, Yakut, Osmanli societies, each one of which in turn is different from the others.

Kazakhs and Kalmuks do not merely share a terminological system, they have a number of specific patterns of kinship behavior in common.

Paternal Kin Terms

In the direct ascending paternal line, separate terms exist up to the fourth generation:

---

[252] Schneider, 220, 224.

*601

Fa Fa Fa Fa	tub ata
Fa Fa Fa	ul ata
Fa Fa	ul ake
Fa	ake[253]

Another series of the same kinship terms is:

Fa Fa Fa Fa	ekeśinin ekeśi
Fa Fa Fa	arqy ata
Fa Fa	ata or ulken ata
Fa	eke[254]

In both cases the number of generations is the same, and certain terms are common to both, either identically or in dialectal variation: ata and ake/eke. Moreover, a syntactic device in counting generations is common to both. The Middle Horde series starts with a basic morpheme and mounts a generation by preposing ul; mounts another generation with another morpheme, ata, preposing the same ul; and mounts to the fourth generation by retaining the morpheme ata, preposing tub to it. In the 1946 general Kazakh series, the basic morpheme is eke; the father of eke is ata or ulken ata; Fa Fa Fa has the same morpheme, ata, with arqy proposed to it; Fa Fa Fa Fa is a duplication of the morpheme ekeśi; -nin is the

---

[253] Rudenko, op. cit., 58. This vocabulary was collected in the Middle Horde in the 1920's.

[254] Balakaev, s.v. prapraded, praded, ded, otets. This is a general Kazakh dictionary published in 1946, with no notation of dialectal differences.

60/ genitive form, ekeŭinin, literally grandfather of. -si is a postfixed generation counter on the root-morpheme eke, Fa: ekeŭinin ekeŭi. An alternative form for Fa is ata, an alternative for Fa Fa is baba.

The term for Fa Ol Br in the Middle Horde is ulken aga, and is distinguished from Fa Yo Br, aga. The differentiation between paternal uncles by seniority was made by all variants in the Kazakh terminological system. In the Great Horde, Fa Ol Br is ata or nemere ata, and Fa Yo Br is aga or nemere aga. The term ulken generally indicates a senior position when applied to a given kinship term, specifically to Fa Fa, Fa Ol Br, etc.

The term for Ol Br is the same as that for Fa Yo Br, aga; Yo Br is ini.

Fa Mo is ane; Fa Si is apa, and this is the same term for Ol Si. Yo Si is differentiated according to whether a man is speaking or a woman; m.s. karyndaŭ, w.s. singli. The terms for female paternal kin are fewer than those for males, a reflection of the greater weight attached to males in the kinship system and value orientations of the Kazakhs generally. Symmetrically with the terms for men, however, Ol Si is up-graded a generation, just as Ol Br; Ol Si is differentiated from Yo Si; a distinctive feature of the sister terms is the differentiation by sex of speaker in the case of Yo Si.

The term for So is ul, and that for child (also

601 used for So) is bala.

A matter that calls for further analysis is the cousin terminology. The term for Fa Br So is nemere, differentiated as Fa Br Ol So, nemere aga, and Fa Br Yo So, nemere ini. Fa Br Ol So and Fa Yo Br bear the same term. The term nemere is also applied to Br So and So So, and thus applies to all those who stand eligible to receive the patrimony, real and intangible, of the family; more important, this group of kin, called by the same term, form a unit which ego looks to for maintenance of the paternal line. If the direct line fails, others stand as a reserve of kin to maintain it. This is the outer limit of the extended family, together with those more closely related in the paternal line as a corporate unit. Within this group the junior levirate is practiced.

601 428 The Fa Si So is dʒien, and the term is extended to include Si So and Da So. Above we have seen the limited rights enjoyed by the dʒien in the property of his Mo Br, from whom he was legally permitted to rustle livestock up to three times; beyond this number, the nephew forfeited the rights of a dʒien. The rights of the dʒien were associated with some kind of forced or violent act. Moreover, the rights of the uncle were protected by supplying him with a formula which effectively was a quitclaim from the viewpoint of the nephew. Implied here

601 428 is a certain amount of tension, of dysnomie: if a system is functioning smoothly, there is no need of force and formulae for the containment or limitation of that force.

The rights of the Si So in the estate of the Mo Br go beyond the strictly agnatic system of relationships. The Si So and Da So relationships are cognatic, for they bring in relationships to the kinship system which exist through the mother.

The right to share in an estate in an agnatically related society is asserted by demonstrating descent from the father or the paternal grandfather; these are patrimonial rights. The system of rights shared by the Kalmuks and the Kazakhs, however, are established through descent from either grandfather, paternal or maternal, although in a greater proportion from the Fa Fa than from the Mo Fa. This is an expression of the mode of transmission of the property rights. From the viewpoint of the kinship terminology, however, a totally different problem emerges: it will be recalled that the cousin system of the Kazakh is of the Omaha type; that is, there are separate terms for paternal parallel, paternal cross, maternal parallel and maternal cross cousins; and there is the distinctive feature of Omaha cousin terminology, Fa Si Ch bears the same term as Si Ch, dzien. But the variation on Omaha is that the term dzien has

601

201 the same scope as the term nemere; both are symmetrical in the system: nemere designates Fa Br So, Br So, and So So; dǐion designates Fa Si So, Si So, and Da So.

There are rights which the nemere possesses in succession and inheritance. The dǐion relationship likewise has important social correlates, including rights in the estate of the Mo Br and the Mo Fa and in the direct descent line of these matrilateral kin, notably the Mo Br So. The extension of the dǐion term and its delimitation is a function of a new concept in Kazakh and Kalmuk social structure: the key relationship of consanguinity is kinship through a common grandfather; those who call ego dǐion, are his Mo Br, his Mo Fa, his Mo Br So; they are all his cognatic kinsmen. In turn, ego calls them all nagaǐy, with certain qualifiers.

By what change in structural principle or practice can a social system remarkable for the purity of its patrilineality submit to changes predicated both in terminology and in kinship behavior, on a cognatic principle, whereby descent through the father as through the mother validates a given right, claim, or obligation? On the terminological side, the kin through the Fa Si are singled out as distinct referents, with specific terms in Kalmuk and Kazakh alone; such is not the case in Bashkir, in Uriankhai, in Ordos, in Classical Mongol, etc. In these systems there is no term for the paternal cross cousin; we have the specific statement in Ordos (q.v.)

601/ that this individual or these individuals are simply not reckoned as kin.[1] Therefore the Omaha system on the Asiatic steppe is found in such societies as the Kalmuk and Kazakh alone.

An explanation may be sought in shifts in marriage rules. Let us assume that at one time a preferred form of marriage was that with the matrilateral cross cousin. In such a case a boy's family could turn to the Wi Br, i.e., the boy's Mo Br, and ask him to supply a daughter as the boy's wife. This implies a constant flow of women in one direction, from Clan B (or Exogamic Unit B) to Clan A (or Exogamic Unit A), for the mother and the wife both would then come from the same clan, a different one from ego's own clan. Such a state of affairs is hinted at in the Secret History, when Chingis Khan's father, Yesügei Bagatur, states that he is going to seek a wife for his son among the son's mother's kin. It need not necessarily have been the Mo Br Da, and certainly Chingis Khan did not call all the men of the mother's clan in the mother's generation by the term for Mo Br. But let us assume that Yesügei Bagatur actually set out to obtain a wife for his son from the family of his wife's brother, and that this was the aboriginal condition.

In fact we need not make any such assumptions. We have a report on the Kirgiz (whether Kazakh-Kirgiz or Kara-Kirgiz is not stated) of the Altai Mountain region that "Marriage with kin through the mother is the most

[1] [Ref. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 186 ff. --Analyst]

to be preferred. The sister's son may marry the brother's daughter...while the tai-eke (Mo Ol Br) is obliged to give him his daughter without bargaining or requiring a kalym."[255] That is, the Mo Br is not supposed to require a brideprice for his Da. Among these Kirgis further aspects of the avunculate are: the Mo Br helps the Si So in marriage and after; he helps pay the kalym for the Si So. In turn, the Mo Br is given special and respectful treatment at the wedding, at feasts and sacrifices, etc.[256] In other words, he gains prestige, a part of his psychic capital, a return for his role in either supplying a daughter of his own, or helping to pay the kalym in finding another woman as wife for the Si So.

These data fit the set of assumptions made above. Returning to the assumptions, the only step in reasoning that remains is the hypothesis that the Mo Br helps to pay the kalym because he is not supplying his daughter as wife for the Mo Br. If there is preferred matrilateral cross cousin marriage and the Mo Br Da is not forthcoming, then the avuncular obligation of Mo Br to Si So, in helping with the kalym, is substituted. This is arguing post hoc ergo propter hoc, but in support is

---

[255] Dyrenkova, 15; quoted in Starynkevich, 217. Original not available in this country.

[256] Starynkevich, op. cit., 216.

the linguistic evidence: the nomenclatural system in which there is no term for Fa Si Ch (and the idea that he or she is not kin) is earlier chronologically than the Omaha variant on the steppes of Asia.

The final stage in this historical reconstruction is again fully supported by fact: the mutual obligation to help in paying the kalym and the payment of respect in return by the džien disappears. There remains only the negative form of the avunculate, the claim of the Si So on the Mo Br, to an extent limited by law. And this nonreciprocal obligation has brought about the shift to a cognatic principle in the transmission of property. The Si So is not obligated in return to pay respect to the Mo Br; the Mo Br is not obligated to supply a daughter as wife to the Si So. Hence the disharmony between the two, and the reluctant participation of the Mo Br.

Viewed from still another angle, the daughter has a right to share in the patrimony of her father, not, it is true, in her own right, but as a mother she is the specific medium whereby her son may assert his claim in the estate of the Mo Fa. He does this by establishing the right to make seizure in the estate of the Mo Br. Thus the inheritance practice that corresponds to the identification of Si So and Da So in terminology is accounted for; and likewise the social relationship that corresponds to the terminological identification of Mo Fa, Mo Br, and Mo Br So. Finally, since property is

60/ still transmitted in the main agnatically, and the claim is not against the estate of the Mo Br specifically, but against all those called nagaŭy, including Mo Fa, Mo Br, and Mo Br So, then by reciprocity, the dŭien relationship and attendant claim is extended from the Si So and Da So to the Fa Si So, for he calls the Mo Br So nagasy, and the nagaŭy calls him dŭien.

In all the foregoing, only one assumption has been made which was not directly an expression of fact, or immediately demonstrated by fact; namely, that the contribution to the kalym made by the Mo Br was in lieu of supplying a daughter as wife to the Si So. However, this line of reasoning as a possible explanation for two systematic shifts, in terminology and in behavior, can be correlated with each, point for point, in the nemere-dŭien relation as well as in the dŭien-nagaŭy relation. It is founded both in chronology and typology, and above all is a systematic phenomenon. Finally, it may be used to account for certain anomalies, such as the present (19th century) use of force in the dŭien-nagaŭy relations to obtain the wherewithal for a kalym. This is at once culture-history and structural history--the history of the change in social structure, which can be tied to specific eras in time. Thus we can say that the Omaha system, and these cognatic relationships, are post-15th century phenomena; that matrilateral cross cousin marriage as a preferred form precedes them in time, and

604 survives into the 20th century in certain areas of the Kirgiz-Kazakh world.

The son of nemere is called sübere, that is, Br So Ch and So So Ch. By this means, the direct and the collateral descent lines are terminologically identified for still another generation. The same kinship logic extends to both: the collateral line is implicitly recognized as a potential replacement for the direct line; the descendant in the direct line is up-graded a generation to make this identification possible. Linguistically, there is exemplified a fragmentary instance of a phenomenon which is systematically carried out among the Buryat, the Ordos and other terminological schemes. -ere designates a given line of descent, ne-, nä- are counters of generations in this line. The desinence is actually -bere/-mere, because of the alternation b/m, of which numerous instances exist in intervocalic position, e.g., omok/obok, clan.

Maternal Kin Terms

The female kin in the paternal line are not marked by a wealth of terms or of internal differentiation, and neither are the kin in the mother's line. The ascending line of the mother's male ancestors is designated by the same terms as the father's line, with the classifier of maternal kin set before; this is reported solely of the

●601 Middle Hordo:

Mo Fa Fa Fa nagaǎy tub ata

Mo Fa Fa nagaǎy ul ata

Mo Fa nagaǎy ul ake or nagaǎy ata.

Mo El Br is nagaǎy ata; Mo Yo Br is nagaǎy aga. Mo Br So is called simply nagaǎy, i.e., by the term for maternal kin in general, and by the collective term for maternal kin. The maternal parallel cousin term is a reciprocal designation found throughout the steppe, bǎle; children of sisters, just as the maternal parallel cousins, are considered especially close; no behavioral correlate is reported for the maternal parallel cousin term.

The Mo Mo term is nagaǎy ǎeǎe; Mo is ǎeǎe. Mo Si is nagaǎy engge, in keeping with the bifurcate collateral terminology for parents' siblings.

Affinal Kin Terms: Spousal Kin

The general term for spouse's kin is kain, which is applied both to the wife's and the husband's kin.

The term for Hu is er; the term kuyeu is also used, and is applied both to Hu and Da Hu; it is possible that in the case of er, it is the woman who is speaking, and in the case of kuyeu, it is a man; but there is no clear indication of this. It also is possible that er is a term of address, and kuyeu a term of reference.

The term for Wi is katyn generally; the chief Wi is

601 baibitše, all other wives are tokal/takal (dialectal variants). The term tokal is applied to all younger women (junior to me) who marry in to my kin group, a phratrogamic term.

Spouse's Fa is kain ata; alternately, Wi Fa is called kain aga, literally, affinal El Br. Spouse's El Br is called also kain aga. Spouse's Mo is kain ana/kain ene (dialectal variants); spouse's El Si is called kain bike.

The parents of the spouses have a set of terms which are not only symmetrical (applied equally to Hu kin and to Wi kin) but reciprocal as well: the user of the term has it applied to himself in turn. The general term for parents of spouses is kuda: this is applied to So Wi Fa, Da Hu Fa, So Wi Mo, and Da Hu Mo. In the Great Horde, the term kudagai is used reciprocally by So Wi Mo and Da Hu Mo. Again in the Great Horde, the sons of one called kuda are kuda bala/byla (So Wi Br and Da Hu Br) and the daughters of kuda are called kudatša (So Wi Si and Da Hu Si).

At this point the symmetry in spousal terminology ceases; other affinal terms are applied only to either Hu kin or to Wi kin, not to both. The wife's senior male kin are called ulken uy (literally, senior generation). There is a single term for Wi Yo Sibling, baldyz. Wi Fa Br Da is enge, a term also designating Wi Fa Yo

601 Br Wi. In the case of baldyz (Wi Yo Si) and engo (Wi Fa Br Da), we know that women who bear this term are sought in marriage if the wife should die, either before or after the wedding, or if the Wi kin for any reason fails to bring forward the affianced girl.

The wife addresses the Hu kin by the same terms that he uses to his own kin, with the prefix kain. Thus, in addition to the symmetrical usages of kain mentioned above, the Wi calls Hu Yo Br kain ini, Hu Yo Si kain singli, etc.

Affinal Kin Terms: Phratrogamic Kin

The phratrogamic kin are those kin who are acquired through the marriage of consanguineal kin. Si Hu and Da Hu are both called kuyeu, and this terminological equation is symmetrical with the equation of So Ch and Da Ch, both dźien. There is one term for son-in-law's brother and daughter-in-law's brother, i.e., So Wi Br and Da Hu Br; both are kuda bala/ kuda byla, the child of kuda, literally, child's spouse's parent's child. Si Hu is further differentiated as Ol Si Hu ezde, and Yo Si Hu, badźa, which is symmetrical with the distinction made between Ol Si and Yo Si. Another term for Si Hu in general is badźa.

There is some dialectal variation in the term for Ol Si Hu: the term in the Great Horde is dźezda; in the

201 Middle Horde it is ezde. Among the spousal kin terms, baldyz Wi Yo Si was mentioned. Those who call each other baldyz and dïezde/ezde, and who are therefore in the relationship of Wi Yo Si and Ol Si Hu respectively, are an eligible marriage pair if the Ol Si of the one who is the Wi of the other should die. A man cannot marry sisters while either of them is alive; sororal polygyny or the sororate is strictly tabooed. But inasmuch as a marriage is a contract between families and not between individuals, the family of a deceased betrothed girl or of a wife who dies in the early years of her marriage undertakes to find a substitute, who is usually the deceased girl's sister, provided the latter is not already bespoken. This modified sororate is the concept which underlies the relationship of baldyz and dïezde/ezde, and corresponds to the distinction in western society between digamy which is permitted and bigamy or polygamy which are forbidden.

El Br Wi is dïesir; Yo Br Wi and So Wi are both kelin. There is one term for son-in-law's sister and daughter-in-law's sister, i.e., So Wi Si and Da Hu Si, both are kudatïa, the daughter of kuda, literally, child's spouse's parent's daughter.

The woman is called tokal/takal by all her husband's senior kin, a term also used for the junior wives of a polygynous household; generally it means younger women

101 marrying in. However, the wife is called kelin by the Hu Ol Br and by the Hu Fa, that is, by males senior to the husband within the extended family. Thus there is a differentiation between junior female phratrogamic kin, depending on whether the consanguineal unit is the lineage and village or whether it is the extended family whose members apply the relevant term. The term kelin pairs with the term džesir, Ol Br Wi, the wife of a man senior to ego within the extended family. Inasmuch as the wife is called džesir by Hu Yo Br, the pairing kelin/džesir has a bearing on the practice of the junior levirate. Marriage with a woman who is in the relation of kelin is taboo; marriage with a woman who is in the relation of džesir is precisely the practice of the levirate, for the latter is a woman one may marry on her husband's death; he is the elder brother.

Adoptive Kin Terms; Terms Used on Remarriage

Adoptive kin terms and those of the adopted are the same as consanguineal terms; the fiction of assumed kinship as real is complete.

On remarriage of either parent, outside the practice of the junior levirate, the term ügei (literally, no, not, negative) is put before the step-kinship involved. Thus, Step-Fa is ügei ata; Step-Mo ügei eese; Step-So ügei ül; Step-Da ügei kys; Step-child ügei bala.

Collective Kin Terms

601 A collective term for siblings (Middle Horde) is tuskan, literally, brother and sister; children are bala. The body of kin in whom an agnatic relationship is recognized is called tuyskat. For descendants, a number of distinctions are made. Any individual descendant is referred to as tukym; a close descendant is dsuragat; a collective for descendants is the binome urym butak.

61 Among the Kazakhs generally, the term for a line
565 of common descent through the father is sdök, literally bone. Inasmuch as these descent lines were collaterally ranked, they served as the basis for the formation of the estates, noble and commoner. The principle upon which the descent lines were ranked was the birth order of the founders, and the senior line in rank achieved a different status, forming the aristocratic stratum, an aspect of the broader principle of differential inheritance and succession. The two estates, white bone and black bone, were distributed among all the hordes, and in all the clans of the hordes. The differentiation by estates is a horizontal cleavage in Kazakh society not to be found in Kara-Kirgiz society for example, but shared by the Kazakh with the Kalmuk society. In the Middle Horde, the clans were called ruu, and were divided into byr top, the component lineages; the principle of clan and lineage formation existed generally among the Kazakh hordes. In contrast to the horizontal cleavage

[Altai Kazakhs]

173 619 expression of the distance in space and in kinship among the various groups. This need not have been the case, but the asseveration would inevitably come to mean what the genealogist has put into it; and it is this ultimate meaning which becomes the symbolic representation of the relationship between the line of Kiata and that of Ukresh, viewed from the standpoint of the latter. This is mythical history, not subject to verification.

601 614 From the generation of Ergenekti to the time the genealogy was collected in the 1920's, fourteen generations (twice seven) were reckoned, and this genealogy was the charter of membership, of incorporation in the analogical sense advanced here, of the Ergenekti clan, the eldest of the Sugurshi[1] line. No particular functions are ascribed by the ethnographers to this structure, and we must look among the component lineages (patrilineage - "bone" - sŭŏk) for these. Among those Naiman who had moved to the valley of the Chu,[1] a variation on the above genealogy was recorded in the 1920's. In this genealogy, that of another lineage of the Ergenekti clan, fourteen generations were reckoned likewise, but not from the clan ancestor, rather from the eponymous ancestor of all the Naiman:[260]

---

[260] Samoilovich, 306.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, #.524-526--Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

I	Naiman	VIII	Oletulu
II	Ergenekti	IX	Kuldja-Bai
III	Kekzhardy	X	Otunchu
IV	Karatai	XI	Biuydakan
V	Boranchy	XII	Emu
VI	Sargaldak	XIII	Cham
VII	Sary	XIV	M. Chamov

This is a genealogy stripped down to bare essentials: Ergenekti is made out to be the son of Naiman, and not his great-grandson, as in the preceding genealogy; moreover he is represented as the only son. The genealogy[1] [801] covers in a stylized manner fourteen generations--the ritual number--and it asserts the claim of the genealogist, M. Chamov, to direct senior patrilineal descent from the eponymous clan founder. The claim to direct senior descent from Naiman is not made, for it had become meaningless; M. Chamov's genealogy must be regarded as a stripped-down genealogy, made to validate a claim to that alone which had remained socially relevant. But even a claim to seniority in descent from Ergenekti was not the primary concern; rather it was the seniority of one of the lineages comprising the Ergenekti clan which was at issue. The founder of this lineage, in the tenth ascending generation from the genealogist, was Karatai. Now the recorder of the genealogy was the great Turkologist Samoilovich, who proposed therewith to correct

[1] [i.e. of the Ergenekti clan of the Naiman; cf. Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527, p. 524ff. -- Analyst]

601
614 genealogies of these people compiled by outstanding investigators in the past, Aristov and Tynyshpaev. According to Tynyshpaev, Ergenekti had two sons, Kekzhardy and Karatai, whereas Samoilovich reports them respectively as father, son and grandson. Above we have seen that in Kazakh kinship nomenclature, Fa Ol Br may bear the same term as Fa Fa, ata; and Fa Yo Br may bear the same term as Ol Br, aga. There is thus really no contradiction between Tynyshpaev and Samoilovich; it is solely a matter of what the end in view of the genealogist was, and which generation he took as his point of reference. Let us consider first the generation reference point: assuming that Kekzhardy was senior and Karatai the cadet; in this case, the son of Karatai, Boranchy, would call Kekzhardy ata regardless of whether he was his Fa Ol Br, i.e., Karatai's Ol Br, or Karatai's Fa, i.e., Boranchy's Fa Fa. This is viewed from the standpoint of the next descending generation, i.e., from Karatai. Assuming, on the other hand, that Karatai was senior and Kekzhardy the cadet, Karatai would have been called aga by Kekzhardy; likewise, Karatai's son, Boranchy, would have called Kekzhardy aga, Fa Yo Br, so that the denotation of the term would coalesce from the viewpoint of the generation succeeding Boranchy. This telescoping and expanding of the genealogy ad libitam is made possible by the intricate

601 614 sub-lineage.[261] It will be noted that the founder of the Sargaldak sub-lineage is in the eighth ascending generation from the genealogist, which is exactly one generation higher than the number of generations in the exogamic unit among these Kazakhs. This calls for a further word.

613 According to the findings of Rudenko, Samoilovich, et al, a unit such as the descent group from Ergenekti was a clan, ruu, among these northeastern Kazakhs.[1/A] The descendants of Karatai, Ergenekti's grandson, excluding the descendants of the other grandsons of Ergenekti, formed Karatai's byr top, the major lineage. These major lineages in turn were divided into sub-lineages (or bones), sŭŏk, of which the four above named comprised the Karatai byr top.[262] Just as were all other patrilineal descent groups among the Kazakh and elsewhere on the steppe, the ruu, the byr top, and the sŭŏk were internally differentiated by the order of birth of the founder. The sŭŏk might in turn be comprised of a number of ata (forebears, literally Pa Pa).[263]

In a general way, the sŭŏk corresponded to the exogamic unit embodied in Rudenko's seven generations or degrees of remove in the male descent line; such might

---

[261] Ibid., 307.

[262] Rudenko, 1930, 59.

[263] Samoilovich, 308-309.

1/A [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527 ff.--Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

613 177.4 565

tion of the structural outlines, a loss of fluidity which can best be shown by examining units smaller than the lineage, such as the village and family.

614 422

The chaotic situation in which the larger descent groups found themselves in by the 1920's--aside from the rigidification of the structural principles--may be seen in the loss of the clan war-cry and cattle-brand. The war-cry or uran now appertained not to the clan, but to the entity which has been identified as the major lineage or byr top. The cattle markings, which were literally ear-marks, tamga, cut into the cattle's ear, were distributed by component sub-lineages or sŭök, of the byr top.[265]

613 177.61 ●601 [631]

Acculturative influences, both economic and political in manifestation, have acted to deprive the Kazakh clan and lineage of many functions. Administratively, the Kazakhs were now settled, in a hierarchy of Russian units, the uezd, the okrug, the volost'. These have remained to this day, with the exception of the volost'. Residence and the distribution of camps, pasturages, etc., have come to be reckoned by administrative units, such as the uezd among these Kazakhs, and one of the incidental effects of acculturation has been the sharpening of the džion relation.[1] This has taken the following form: In the Altai district (okrug),

---

[265] Samoilovich, 310-311.

[1] [cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 509ff. --Analyst]

613
177.6/
601

one of the uezdy is the Karkaralinsk, occupied in the main by the Shorkarakesek lineage, and with a minority from another lineage, the Karaul. These Karaul members are settled likewise in three other uezdy. Now the descent is still agnatic primarily, and residence is patrilocal. Nevertheless, one of the Karaul sub-lineages reckoned its descent through the daughters of the sub-lineage founder, one Botyshor, and are known as the Botyshor džien (Botyshor's daughter's sons). They live among the Karaul lineage, not among their patrilineal kinsmen who would have been Botyshor's kuyeu (Da Hu). These džien nevertheless preserved their patrilineal affiliations, at least in the reckoning of kinship.[266]

Significantly, group membership is determined now by administrative district in which one dwells or one's group dwells. This in itself has had the consequence of extending the džien relationship to a field where it had not been remarked before: in addition to various functions related to inheritance and the distribution of the parental estate, and to the paying of the kalym or bridewealth, the džien relation is now seen to be a means for establishing residence, descent, the occupation of common pasturage, etc. A sub-lineage such as the Botyshor džien asserted their right through kinship with the Mo Fa to dwell and nomadize with, or at least in the

---

[266] Rudenko, op. cit., 59.

63
177.4
601

same district with, their cognatic kinsmen. This does not mean that descent has come to be traced bilaterally; it is necessary to differentiate, for the purposes of this analysis, between bilateral and cognatic descent and kinship. Except for the lacuna of one generation, that necessary to establish the relationship with the Mo Pa line, descent is still reckoned patrilineally, and the džien likewise maintain their own agnatic relationships; although how long the latter will survive if they are not closely correlated with actual functions is questionable. From all this, it may be concluded that the extension of the džien relationship to the residence and pasturage unit is a consequence of acculturation, and not a spelling out of innate dynamics of Kazakh development. Nevertheless it is consonant with tendencies already set in motion, at least in the 19th century if not earlier, to assign ever wider functions to the džien, a nonagnatic relationship.

613

Lineages continued to change place of residence and fuse with other lineages in the 1920's, forming a sub-lineage sŭŏk among other component sŭŏk of a byr top (major lineage) and retain its original name. Thus, for instance, a group of Argun Kazakhs moved in among the Karatai byr-top of the Ergenekti ruu of the Naiman division of the Middle Horde. These Argun continued to be identified as such, that is, the sub-lineage which they now formed was known by that name, but they

Kazak RQ2

[p 640]

Kazakh-Kirgiz Kinship Terms

601

Ps Fs Fs Ps	tuh ata (Middle	———	ebekisin ekeii (Kazakh-Kirgiz				
Ps Fs Ps	ul ata Turko)	———	aegy ata generally)				
Ps Fs	ul abe "	———	ata gr ulken ata "				
Ps	ake "	———	ake "				
			Ps Ms		aye		
Ms	Ul gr kala		Zs		kyz		
Ms Ms	qaeero						
Ms Ms Ms	dDero						
Ps Cl Br	ulken aga gr aeeero ata		Ps Si		aga		
Ps Ys Br	aga gr aeeero aga						
Cl Br	aga		Cl Br Ul		dDesir		
Ys Br	ini		Ys Br Ul		kalin		
			Ms Ul		kalin		
Cl Si	aga		Cl Si Ms		eeke		
Ys Si	karyndas (man sp.)		Ys Si Ms		kadin		
Ys Si	eigil (woman sp.)		Si Ms		kayee gr kadin		
			Zs Ms		kayen		
Ms Br Ch	aeeero						
Ms Br Cl Ms	aeeero aga						
Ms Br Ys Ms	aeeero ini						
Br Ms	aeeero						
Br Ms Ms	dDero						
Ps Si Ch	dilen						
Si Ch	dilen						
Zs Ch	dilen						
Ms Ps Ps Ps	aqeiy tuh ata						
Ms Fs Ps	aqeiy ul ata						
Ms Ps	aqeiy ul abe gr aqeay ata		Ms Ms		aqeiy eeee		
Ms Cl Br	aqeiy ata		Ms Si		aqeiy aga		
Ms Ys Br	aqeay aga						
Ms Br Ch	aqeiy						
Ms Si Ch	bile						
Zs	ee gr kayen		Ul		kelyn		
Sp Ps	kain ata		Sp Ms		kain ene		
Sp Cl Br	kain aga		Sp Cl Si		kain bike		
Ms Ys Br	kain ini		Ms Ys Si		kain eigil		
Ul Ys Sibl	baldyz						
Brmi Kazak			Brmi Kazak				
Ss Ul Ps	kain (self-		Ss Ul Ms		kainagi	(reciprocal)	
Zs Zs Ps	kain (reciprocal)		Zs Zs Ch		kainagi	"	
Ss Ul Br	kain kala "		Ss Ul Si		kainlan	"	
Zs Zs Br	kain kala "		Zs Zs Si		kainlan	"	
			Ul Ps Br Zs		aga		

KAZAK RQ2

Kazakh-Kirgiz Kinship Terms 2.

*LD1

Agnatic kin	tuysken
Descendants	tuiyn
Close descendant	dzurugat
Descendants	uryn butak (collective)
Siblings	tuskan (Middle Horde)
Children	bala

Wi senior male kin ulken ag.

Clan	ruu
Lineage	kyr toy
Zone	aiilk

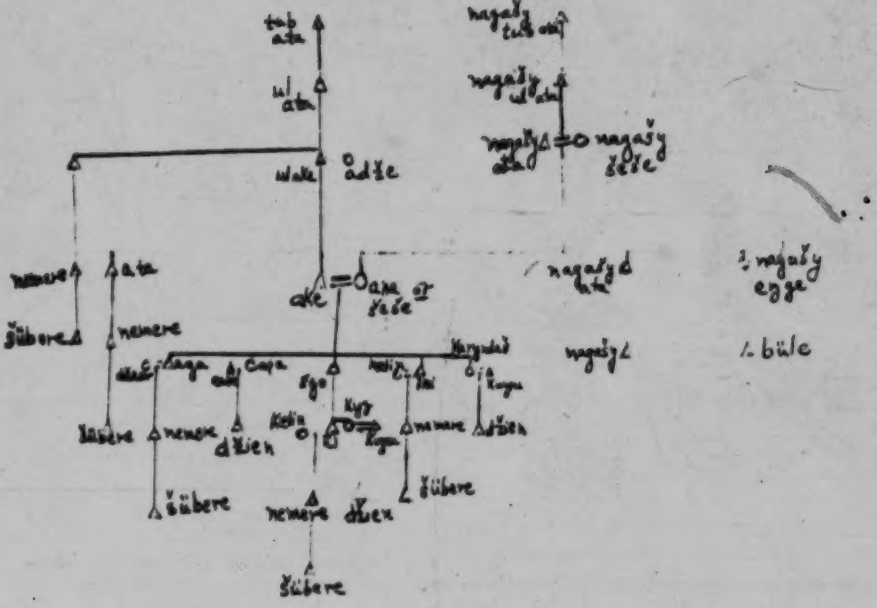
[p. 641]

10: Krader S-4 (no date) 1953 AH1 Mongolia

KAZAK RQ2

Kazakh-Kirgiz Consanguineal System

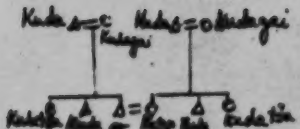
601


nagaš tuγ ata
nagaš tuγ eke
nagaš ata
nagaš apa
nagaš ağa
nagaš ağa
nagaš apa
nagaš ağa
nagaš ağa
nagaš ağ

KAZAK RQ 2

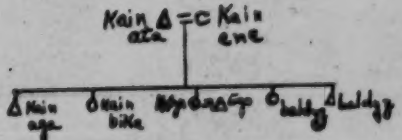
201

Kazakh-Kirgiz Affinal System



Spouses' Parents Terms (self-reciprocal)

Husband's Kin



Wife's Kin